

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 103705 TOSEC 040214
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:TNILES/RBARRY:KTH
APPROVED BY P:DNEWSOM
IO:GBHELMAN
AF:WEDMONDSON (DRAFT)
AF/S:DPETTERSON (DRAFT)
USUN:MACHENRY(SUBSTANCE)
S/S/:SGOLDSMITH

-----025352 222318Z /73

O 222305Z APR 78 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 103705 TOSEC 040214

EXDIS, CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: APRIL 23-24 FIVE POWER FOREIGN MINIS-
TERS MEETING - BRIEFING MEMORANDUM
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 103705 TOSEC 040214

1. BACKGROUND: SINCE WE PRESENTED THE "FINAL" CONTACT
GROUP PROPOSAL TO THE PARTIES, BOTH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA
HAVE BEEN TRYING TO GET US TO REVISE THE PROPOSAL IN THEIR
FAVOR. SWAPO WANTS TO USE THE SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA
TO BOLSTER THEIR NEGOTIATING POSITION, PARTICULARLY ON
WALVIS BAY. SOUTH AFRICA IS :XPLAINING THAT "DOMESTIC

PRESSURES" REQUIRE THAT THE PROPOSAL BE INTERPRETED TO MEET THEIR SECURITY CONCERNS BEFORE THEY CAN BE ACCEPTED. THE NEW YORK AND CAPE TOWN CONTACT GROUPS BELIEVE THAT REOPENING SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE PROPOSALS AT THIS POINT WOULD BE A FATAL MISTAKE.

2. ISSUES:

A. SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL. AS INDICATED IN USUN 1487, WE SEE A NUMBER OF SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH THE KIND OF STATEMENT THE BRITISH PROPOSE ON THE POWERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. DURING THEIR INITIAL DISCUSSIONS BOTH THE NEW YORK AND CAPE TOWN CONTACT GROUPS ADVISED VERY STRONGLY AGAINST SUCH A STATEMENT. THE FRENCH HAVE NOW ADVISED US THAT THEIR LEGAL POSITION IS THAT

ANY CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WOULD BE SOVEREIGN WITH THE POWER TO MAKE BINDING DECISIONS (USUN 1612). BUT ALL FIVE AGREE THAT A STATEMENT THAT APPEARS TO BROADEN THE POWER OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WOULD BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE.

MEANWHILE, BRAND FOURIE HAS PRESSED THE BRITISH AND OURSELVES TO PROVIDE THE STATEMENT ON WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS BY MONDAY MORNING NOTING THAT BOTH HAS TO MAKE HIS CABINET PRESENTATION ON NAMIBIA ON APRIL 25. OUR EMBASSY IN CAPE TOWN ESTIMATES THAT VORSTER IS LEAVING THE DOOR OPEN TO ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 103705 TOSEC 040214

THAT THE NATURE OF THE FIVES' RESPONSES WILL WEIGH HEAVILY IN THEIR DECISION.

WE RECOMMEND TWO STEPS AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE KIND OF STATEMENT OWEN PROPOSES:

(1) AN ORAL PRESENTATION ON BEHALF OF THE FIVE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ALONG THE LINES OF THE TALKING POINTS AT TAB A; AND

(2) LANGUAGE IN THE STATEMENT DELIVERED ON BEHALF OF THE FIVE TO THE SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA WHICH EMPHASIZES THE NEED TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER AND THE ROLE THE UN MUST PLAY IN THIS REGARD.

THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE BALANCED WITH A NON-COMMITTAL STATEMENT ON WALVIS BAY EMPHASIZING THAT ITS FATE WOULD BE DECIDED BY NEGOTIATION AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

B. "SECURITY ASSURANCES" FOR THE NAMIBIA PEOPLE. FOURIE CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT WE OWE HIM SOMETHING ON THIS AND HE HAS ASKED THAT THE FIVE PROVIDE LANGUAGE BEFORE

THE TUESDAY CABINET DISCUSSION. THE FIVE HAVE SUGGESTED A STATEMENT ALONG THE FOLLOWING: LINES WHICH COULD BE GIVEN TO THE SAG ORALLY AND/OR INCLUDED IN OUR STATEMENT TO THE SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA: "THE FIVE POWERS WISH TO STATE THAT THEY WOULD VIEW WITH GRAVE CONCERN AND WOULD ACT ACCORDINGLY WITH RESPECT TO ANY ACTIONS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD THAT COULD THREATEN THE SECURITY OF NAMIBIA AND ITS PROMPT ACHIEVEMENT OF INDEPENDENCE."

C. WALVIS BAY. ALL THE SIGNS POINT TOWARDS A MAJOR CAMPAIGN DURING THE SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA TO DECLARE WALVIS BAY AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA AND TO PRESSURE THE FIVE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THIS PUBLICLY. WE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 103705 TOSEC 040214

HAVE ARGUED IN THE NEW YORK CONTACT GROUP THAT WE

SHOULD BALANCE ANY STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL BY A FIVE POWER STATEMENT ON WALVIS BAY SIMILAR TO THAT WE DESCRIBED TO THE FRONT LINE AND NUJOMA, BUT THE OTHER FOUR REMAIN UNCONVINCED. IN ANY CASE, NUJOMA REGARDS OUR STATEMENT AS INADEQUATE AND A FIVE POWER REITERATION OF IT WOULD PROBABLY HAVE MORE NEGATIVE EFFECT ON SOUTH AFRICA THAN POSITIVE EFFECT ON NUJOMA.

IF A STATEMENT SUCH AS OWEN PROPOSES IS TO BE MADE ON SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR WALVIS BAY STATEMENT SHOULD BE APPROVED BY THE FIVE AS WELL. WE COULD OFFER TO MAKE BOTH PUBLIC IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE PARTIES OF THE PROPOSALS.

D. RELATIONSHIP OF ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND SYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. FOURIE NOW ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THIS SUBJECT WAS ADEQUATELY DEALT WITH BY YOU AND OWEN IN PRETORIA.

E. SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA. WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING STRATEGY FOR THE NAMIBIA SESSION IN THE CONTACT GROUP. PRIMARILY THROUGH LOBBYING IN NEW YORK, WE PLAN TO TRY TO STIMULATE AS MANY COUNTRIES AS POSSIBLE TO SUPPORT THE CONTACT GROUP'S PROPOSALS IN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND LOOK AHEAD TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ENDORSING THEM. AS WE EXPECT THE DECLARATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE COUNCIL TO HAVE A DECIDED PRO-SWAPO TILT, WE ANTICIPATE ABSTAINING. DON MC HENRY AND OTHER CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS COMING TO LONDON FROM NEW YORK WILL HAVE A DRAFT STATEMENT WHICH THE CANADIAN FOREIGN MINISTER JAMIE-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 103705 TOSEC 040214

SON WOULD GIVE ON BEHALF OF THE FIVE.

F. SECURITY PROCLAMATION GIVEN BY MINISTER STEYN. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FIVE SHOULD AGREE TO A STATEMENT WARNING THE SAG TO AVOID MEASURES OF THE KIND RECENTLY ANNOUNCED IN WINDHOEK (CAPE TOWN 780, USUN 1580 REPEATED TO YOU).

TAB A - TALKING POINTS ON SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL. IF APPROVED BY THE FIVE CG FOREIGN MINISTERS IN LONDON, THE FOLLOWING POINTS WOULD BE MADE TO BRAND FOURIE BY THE CAPE TOWN CG ON MONDAY MORNING.

1. WE HAVE NOTED YOUR CONCERNS REGARDING SECURITY CONDITIONS IN NAMIBIA AND YOUR REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION OF THE PROVISION IN OUR PROPOSAL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF YOUR 1,500-MAN RESIDUAL FORCE ONE WEEK AFTER THE CERTIFICATION OF ELECTIONS.

2. YOU HAVE RAISED THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE NEWLY-ELECTED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY MIGHT CALL FOR THE RETENTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN NAMIBIA AND HAVE ASKED WHAT OUR REACTION TO THIS DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE. WE WISH TO RECALL THAT THE PROVISIONS REGARDING THE PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF SA MILITARY FORCES, AND THE RETENTION OF A RESIDUAL FORCE FOR A SPECIFIED PERIOD, WERE DEVELOPED TO MEET WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION TO ANY SA MILITARY PRESENCE AFTER THE START OF THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. THUS, TO CHANGE NOW MAY RESULT IN DEMANDS THAT THE ENTIRE MILITARY WITHDRAWAL PACKAGE BE RENEGOTIATED.

3. IN OUR ORAL STATEMENT TO YOU OF MARCH 30, WE TOOK NOTE OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY MIGHT MAKE SUCH A REQUEST. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS ACTION SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED OR THAT IT WOULD NECESSARILY BE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S ADVANTAGE TO HAVE THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY GIVEN POWERS BEYOND THOSE SPECIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 103705 TOSEC 040214

IN THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL. DIRK MUDGE OF THE DTA RECENTLY TOLD AMBASSADOR MC HENRY THAT HE STRONGLY OPPOSED GIVING SUCH POWERS TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

4. WITH REFERENCE TO YOUR CONCERNS OVER THE SECURITY SITUATION IN NAMIBIA FOLLOWING THE WITHDRAWAL OF YOUR RESIDUAL FORCE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE

WHICH WOULD FLOW FROM THE ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL, PLUS THE INTRODUCTION OF A UN FORCE, WILL SERVE TO ENSURE STABILITY. MOREOVER, AFTER YOUR TROOPS ARE WITHDRAWN, SOUTH AFRICA WILL CONTINUE UNDER OUR PROPOSAL TO HAVE SUBSTANTIAL PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA, INCLUDING THE EXISTING POLICE FORCES AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE HEADED BY JUSTICE STEYN. NOTHING PREVENTS THE AUGMENTATION OF THE POLICE FORCE BY THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL IN COOPERATION WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD THEY DECIDE THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION SO REQUIRES. MOREOVER, THE UN FORCE WHICH WILL BE INTRODUCED DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL HAVE AN IMPORTANT FUNCTION.

5. CONSEQUENTLY, WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE IN YOUR INTEREST TO RAISE THE SUBJECT OF A POSSIBLE DECISION BY THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO REQUEST THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS REMAIN IN NAMIBIA;

6. IN ADDITION, WE WOULD URGE THAT IN THE INTEREST OF SECURING ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL BY ALL CONCERNED, THAT YOU REFRAIN FROM ANY STATEMENT ON THE POSSIBLE UNILATERAL REINTRODUCTION OF SAG FORCES IN THE EVENT SUCH A REQUEST WERE MADE. SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD BE VIEWED INTERNATIONALLY AS BEING IN DIRECT CONTRAVENTION OF THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL AND, CONSEQUENTLY, WOULD BE HARMFUL TO SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERESTS. CHRISTOPHER
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 103705 TOSEC 040214

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, PLANNING MEETINGS, MINISTERIAL MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE103705
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: TNILES/RBARRY:KTH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780173-0068
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780427/aaaaawjp.tel
Line Count: 256
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: bf0854a9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2877780
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: APRIL 23-24 FIVE POWER FOREIGN MINIS- TERS MEETING - BRIEFING MEMORANDUM CONFIDENTIAL
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/bf0854a9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014